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RITUAL ORATORY

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X 79

Most ceremonies, whether for food or for power, include a set speech which describes the desired event in all its perfection and thus brings it about. The speeches recount an experience in the first person, and, say the ceremonialists, they must have been made by I'itoi. However, since they seem often the words of some humble man, addressing powers unknown to I'itoi, it is more probable that this is a ceremonial pattern to which different cultural scraps have been fitted.

As a group, such recitations are known as *s'hámpatak* (wise or perhaps, esoteric speeches), but each set has its own title, differing with the locality. Thus, there are mocking bird speeches, so called because of their eloquence and used at the rainmaking ceremony at Santa Rosa, wind speeches, used for the same ceremony at Pisinimo, salt speeches, war speeches, hunt speeches.

All are in the custody of ceremonialists, who teach them only to selected individuals. Those for the food ceremonies belong to the village officials and are handed down, supposedly, to successors in the male line. However, the process does not always work smoothly. Officials have been known to put off the task too long and die ceremonially intestate. Some have refused instruction entirely, and some have instructed a favorite heir, whom the council later refused to sanction.

As a result, some villages have a complete and elaborate set of speeches; some have fragments; some have none. Bereft localities may send long distances for a speaker, yet there is hesitation about teaching a man without hereditary rights. The writer has known a village council to appoint some likely young man and send him for instruction, either to a ceremonialist of his own village or to one of some friendly dialect group. An ambitious nobody would hesitate to ask the privilege. The learner must make his request with a handful of cornmeal and must learn on the system of hearing the whole speech through without interruptions. Perhaps it was because of this difficulty of method that several young men besought the writer to teach them from her notes.

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Power speeches, also, are localized and varied. Each ceremonial "father" has his own set, perhaps learned in his own village, perhaps in another. All are considered equally efficacious, but a neophyte is likely to choose a "father" from his own locality and so perpetuate the local variation. Thus, Anegam has an elaborate set of salt speeches, while the other villages manage with almost none. Komarik and Santa Rosa have war speeches so different that they seem like two halves of a ceremonial whole. The latter village, in fear of losing its ritual altogether, held a mock war raid and initiated two young men, the sons of famous scalpers. The garbled manner in which one of them recited the ritual gave ample illustration of the way in which whole passages may be altered or lost.

Esoteric speeches are couched in "soft words," or standardized circumlocutions which avoid naming an animal or object. Thus, Coyote is "the woolly comrade"; the sun, "the shining traveler"; the stones which hold a pot on the fire are the "three shamans." So far-fetched are some of these expressions that an interpreter with no ritual knowledge cannot understand them. One is reminded of the standardized poetic titles in Beowulf and Homer. However, in the writer's opinion the Papago expressions are not mere metaphor; they may well be related to the taboo against the use of personal names and may be meant as respectful treatment of the supernaturals and even the objects which can influence a ceremony. "Salt pilgrims" carry the attitude so far as to use roundabout terms in ordinary conversation. There is, in fact, a "salt language," parallel to the "war language" of the Apache,[10] and of some Plains tribes. We might hazard the idea that the peaceful Papago have transferred this peculiar form of respect from war to another dangerous enterprise. Nor is it unrelated to the circumlocutions by which many peoples avoid the names of the dead.

A ceremonial speech has not only a peculiar vocabulary but also a peculiar form of delivery. It is pronounced in a low voice and entirely without gesture. Its mumbled words are almost inaudible, but it is given, not for its effect on the audience, but as a magic spell. Nevertheless, there are two distinct speaking techniques. The

[10] Opler, p. 210.

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most usual one places extreme emphasis on the last word of a sentence or phrase, generally the verb, while all the others are pronounced in a barely audible monotone. This is used for all speeches except the "wise" ones connected with the salt pilgrimage. The latter are in two parts. The introduction describes the approach, through tobacco smoke, to "Him, my guardian," and is pronounced like the average ritual speech. When the smoke has done its work and the suppliant finds himself before the supernatural, there begins a form of delivery peculiar to the salt ritual. This is the "throwing words," a monotonous panting, in a low voice and on the same note, separating the syllables and giving to each equal value. A similar form of delivery is mentioned among Yuman peoples for all ceremonial speeches, notably those for war.[11]

A ceremony may also include an informal speech of admonition made by some prominent man on the practical phases of the gathering. At the rainmaking feast the people were urged not to misbehave while drinking; at the war preparation they were reminded how necessary it was to avenge their dead relatives. These talks were akin to long monologues addressed by a father to his children and by the keeper of the smoke at the council meeting. Such long-winded sermons were an institution in the area,[12] and they occur as far south as the Aztec,[13] where they are expected to be "a thing rare and elegantly composed—like a precious stone." [14]

With the Papago these talks fall from the high poetic heights of the rituals, and their prosiness shows the impromptu manner of their composition. However, they were not composed anew for each occasion. The same man was appointed speaker from year to year, and he finally standardized his speech, so that ultimately most of his hearers knew it by heart. The style of delivery for these prose sermons was like that of the war speeches, with emphasis on the last word of a sentence, but they were not recited in the low voice of rituals. The audience was meant to listen and the writer has heard them shouted at the top of a speaker's lungs.

[11] Forde, p. 209; Spier, p. 168.
[12] Forde, pp. 28, 209; Maricopa, Spier, p. 156; California, Kroeber, p. 501; Navajo, Apache, Reichard, p. 109.
[13] Sahagún, Jourdanet, tr., pp. 352–90.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 452.

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had with him a deputy who had learned it in the proper way, from some older relative.

The speeches, both of invitation and of response, were hereditary, and were somewhat different, at least in later days, for each village. At Santa Rosa they were known as mocking bird speeches; at Pisinimo, they were wind speeches; at Kaka, brave speeches. A Pima from Sacaton stated that in his locality they were known as cotton blanket speeches, because of the costume of the orator. They were delivered not in the abrupt, staccato style of the war and salt speeches, but were smooth and flowing, with heavy emphasis on the last word in each sentence. They mention a supernatural about whom none of the speakers could tell anything, but who resembles the rain gods of Mexican tradition.

MOCKING BIRD SPEECHES

INVITATION TO THE SIT-AND-DRINK

(Santa Rosa)

28. Am not I a messenger
Something delightful desiring?

Once I knew not what to do [to make liquor].
[In my despair] at the foot of a tree prone I lay.
The wind blew.
Dust it blew along the ground and cast it upon my face.
Twigs and gravel it blew along the ground and tangled them in my hair.
Then I arose.

Of the kinsmen living around me, I bethought me.
I called them by the kinship term and wept.
Then they had pity on me.
Some liquid in the bottom of a jar they gave me.

Half dead I sat before it,
Desiring that speedily [it should ferment, but still it did not].
Then I bethought me of my home,
And thither I turned to go,
But at the door I turned again and back I came.
Then [the liquor] had pity on me,
And after two mornings gloriously it fermented.

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Then hurry, and, in any way you can, come drink my fermented liquor.(4)

The representative of each direction was then carried to his place, and his fellow townsmen arranged themselves around him until a circle was formed four or five deep. Before they drank, the liquor maker or some influential man chosen for the purpose, made a speech of admonition, warning against riotousness. This speech was highly necessary, since the calendar stick records many deadly quarrels which arose at such times, and several villages "drank their liquor with blood."

The speech was informal prose, spoken in a loud voice, with emphasis on the last word in the sentence or phrase.

SPEECH OF ADMONITION BY THE LIQUOR MAKER
(Kaka)

33. I have made this liquor that you may drink and be happy. Very beautifully you will get drunk. Very happily you will get drunk. Let no one be angry: let no one raise his hand to strike. If someone comes from a distance, keep watch of his horse for him. Tie the horse; put the saddle in your house; put the bridle in your house; put the spurs in your house. When he comes to himself, wherever he may be, he will take his horse; he will take his saddle; he will take his bridle. His spurs he will take. So he will come happily to his home and happy will be the liquor maker.(3)

SPEECH OF ADMONITION BY AN INFLUENTIAL CITIZEN
(Santa Rosa)

34. I am going to speak to you a little, my relatives and friends. Today the time has again arrived when you will all listen to this good thing. Everywhere this speech is being made, to the men and to the boys. You must believe this. This is our purpose. For this the liquor is made: that you may feel happy; that you may drink; that you may talk beautifully; that you may sing beautifully; that all may be well.

Now, when you see each other here, let no one speak ill to his kinsmen and his friends. Some whom we have seen in other years are not here now. And, when the time comes, some of us, too, will not be among the living. Therefore, this year, while we are together, let us be happy. Let no one misbehave, for we are not here for that.

Whoever established this liquor drinking for us, did so that we might ask for rain. That is its purpose. For we have no rivers and therefore we must obtain rain. This is the belief of all our kinsmen.

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THE RABBIT DRIVE[9]

The time for the big rabbit hunts was in the rainy season, when there was plenty of vegetation and "the rabbits got fat and lazy." Men hunted as often as they could spare time from their fields, but there was a ceremonial drive at the opening of the season, between the two nights of rainmaking. At this time the village swarmed with guests, and every male present turned out to help provide a feast. Women did not join.

On the preceding evening the hunt chief mounted to the roof of his house and issued a call for all the men to meet next day at an appointed place, where the wall of brush had been built. The wall had one opening, and early the next morning the hunt chief took his place beside it, carrying in his left hand a bow and in his right a ceremonial arrow, decorated with a deer tail. It was with this arrow that he would point the men to their positions, after having made his ritual speech. The speech was full of "soft words," designed to spare the feelings of the game animals by not using their names.

RABBIT HUNT SPEECH
(Archie)

1. Now has my desire fulfilled itself,
Oh you, my kinsmen.

I looked on high.
Surprised, I saw
The sun about to move on its circuit.
Then thus did I fulfill my desire.

I did gather to me the youths grown
And tell them my purpose.
Then forth I went, and at the base of a tree
Did lay me.
This was the goal [for the two lines of beaters].

Then did I point the road toward it,
And along it did I lead the youths.
There did I kill

[9] Russell, p. 82, mentions a Pima rabbit drive.

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After this preliminary ceremony, the game leaders of the two sides made speeches. These were in such ancient language that they were untranslatable, but the general meaning was said to be as follows: 535 537 198 539x

Game leader for the challengers.

"Hail, friend!
Thus are my doings. Here I arrive.
We shall see the result."

Game leader of the challenged village.

"Hail, friend! Thus it has happened.
You have arrived here. You will look on my field,
Covered with drought. You will look on it.
We shall see what will be."(26)

Then the musicians, with scraping sticks and baskets, took their places, and the skipping dance began. The dancers were generally ten boys and ten girls. The boys wore kilts, and the girls, the usual wrap-around skirt. They were barefoot, with their long hair flowing and with their faces and bodies painted in any way dictated by the dream of the song composer. He might decide on symbols never used before, or he might demand elaborate pictorial representations of birds and corn. 535

The regular formation for the skipping dance was a file of couples—boys on the right, girls on the left. They went around the dance place counterclockwise, alternately walking and skipping, in conformity with the music. This had two phases, one known as "they hold in," and one as "they give out." We may call them for brevity, the strong phase and the weak phase. In the weak phase, which always came first, the basket drums were tapped and the dancers walked, holding their symbols low. In the strong phase, the drums were scraped and symbols held with both hands above the head. It was in the strong phase that the composer introduced any mimetic movements which his dream dictated. There were eight songs, each sung eight times or sometimes sixteen.

The dance described below is the last which was given by the Indians on their own initiative, though recently they have revived it under White auspices and with an entrance fee. The one described was given in 1927, when the northern villages "sang for" [541]

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8

WARFARE

721 PAPAGO war ritual[1] never mentions the glory of war. Bravery
●537 and prowess are recognized unofficially, and the informal speeches even make much of them, but in the official orations war is conceived of as an onerous duty. The descriptions are not of battles but of the visions which precede and follow them. Actual fighting is expressed by metaphor or disposed of in one hurried sentence. Emphasis is all on the obligation to the community, the steps taken to work the fighters up to action, and the final reward. This last is neither prestige, booty, nor satisfied vengeance, but that *sine qua non* of a desert people—rain.

701 721 This is the attitude of busy agriculturists who fought, as the Papagos say they did fight, only in self-defense. They were often attacked by the raiding Apache around them, and all their men had to be trained for war. In fact, there was no escape from mili-

[184] [1] The warpath ceremonial was highly developed among the Pima (Russell, pp. 352–84), and its speeches have been preserved while other ceremonies were lost. Pima rituals do not correspond with those of the Papago speech for speech, but the same material is used by both groups in different combinations. One important difference is that the Papago divide this material into speeches for the warpath and others for the subsequent purification. Russell (pp. 204–5) describes an arduous purification, but all the speeches he gives are assigned to the warpath and to definite stages in its progress. The Papago use some of this same speech material for salt gathering and for building a ceremonial house.

Granting these differences, the northern Papago, from whom the speeches were taken, show more likeness to the Pima than to Papago of other divisions, where the speeches were sought in vain. The likeness would have been greater had not the Pima speeches been translated as prose and the Papago as poetry. The writer, however, is willing to defend her use of the free verse form. The speeches, as recited, have a definite rhythm, entirely different from that of ordinary talking. It is easy to recognize the end of a line by the heavy stress on the last word and these lines have been adhered to in the translation. As noted in the introduction, their length cannot be exactly that of the original, but the proportion of long and short is similar.

[p. 165]

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Evening then will fall, and they will sing for him. Daylight will come and there will come forth the old woman. She will give the warwhoop; she will dance. Thus will do the old man: he will come forth; he will shout loudly, he will dance hard.

This is our purpose. Therefore, we shall lead forth our young men, that deeds they may do which are of the bravest; that deeds they may do with which the earth shall resound. This is our purpose.

Therefore do not begrudge your young men, whom we lead thither. Although it is dangerous, let them care not if they die there. For thus will resound their fame; the people will hear it and will call them by the kin term. If they are kin, they will give the prayer for one who fared unfortunately. This is our purpose.

If your son shall die, excellent will be the fame of his death, because somewhere unknown to you between the mountains he died. In some place unknown to you shall lie his bones. The flying birds their down feathers shall let fall—all kinds of birds, and therewith better shall lie his bones. Therewith thus shall desire the old man [his father] he shall [desire to] go thither and again to fight the enemy. He shall kill another enemy and shall cancel the debt. Therewith will he make all well and will be exceedingly happy. He will not remember his son's death. Therewith, out of sight, will he put his wretchedness, his unhappiness.(21)

After the informal urging of men to do their duty, came the ritual oration to produce power. This was a description of I'itoi's resurrection and his preparation for a victorious campaign. It was taken from the original myth and described the first Papago and Pima war ceremonies, just as the songs sung on the warpath were the songs of I'itoi's army.

Only two men were found who knew this speech. Both had learned it hurriedly from the last old warrior before he died, and though their versions agreed, the whole effect was that of a garbled patchwork. It begins in the appropriate style of dignified repetition and follows the origin myth of I'itoi's revival. Then there is an abrupt change. Instead of the underground people, I'itoi visits a bird shaman. The narrative continues with typical Papago realism while the hero asks for the Papago virtues, including expertness in kickball. Then suddenly the Apache are brought on the scene, and with one violent sentence the ritual is cut short.

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926 The men gathered in a circle, with the fire in the center. At the side of the circle, where they could be facing the enemy, sat the war leaders, with the senior at the left. Next to them sat the crier, and behind him a lance was placed upright in the ground. The man who recited the ritual held this lance as he spoke and then replaced it. When the men were seated, the crier called for the shamans of the party. These were a particular group, the owl-shamans, who could communicate with the dead. It was their function to speak to the spirits of Papago warriors killed in the enemy country and learn of the enemy movements. The crier named each shaman present, calling him by the kinship term. They came and took their seats inside the circle, in front of the leaders and facing the enemy.

926 One or more ritual speeches were then made,[4] the speaker being
● 537 any man who had learned the formula, perhaps during his period of war purification. Some speakers advanced to the center of the circle and grasped the spear.(12) Others sat with arms folded and head bowed. "You should not talk loud for a war speech. It is solemn." The speech was delivered in monotonous tones, with a strong emphasis on the last word of the sentence or phrase.

Two such speeches were recorded. One, from Santa Rosa, is a realistic description of a war party. The emphasis, however, is entirely on the preparations, the actual fight being disposed of in a single sentence. The speaker uses a warpath language analogous to the language used on the salt pilgrimage, in which important nouns are indicated by circumlocutions.[5]

926 x 539

SPEECH AT FIELD RENDEZVOUS[6]

STICKS LAID DOWN

4. Thus did I do.
The sticks, which I have broken,
I knocked them all down.
One after another.

[4] The same custom holds among the Maricopa, who may have adopted it from the Pima. The speaker must be one who has dreamed of the mocking bird. The speeches are in the first person, with "abrupt, staccato delivery" (resembling Papago salt speeches) Spier, p. 167.

[5] For the Pima version of this speech see Russell, p. 369.

[6] For a Pima war speech somewhat similar to this one see Russell, pp. 369–74.

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Made himself like a murderous wildcat
And along a ditch he crawled on his hands and knees.

The dawn approached;
Then, leaping in we went.

A lone enemy came forth;
Surprised, he looked about.
He broke a tree, and down he went rolling.
Then he who kills with his mouth [rattlesnake; a Papago warrior]
Took him, and down he went dragging him.
A lone enemy came forth;
Surprised, he looked about;
He slipped on the grass, and down he went rolling.
Then he who kills with his claws [hawk; a Papago warrior]
Took him, and down he went dragging him.

The sun stood at the rising point.
Then did we not continue to wrestle with them;
We destroyed them.(7)

The other speech recorded is from the south of the reservation. Here realism has entirely disappeared, and the words are a passionate and poetic call for men to do their duty. Again the preparations for war are stressed, but their end is a magic experience obtaining undying seed for all the community. The last phrase of this speech is the standard finale for all war speeches, speaking eloquently of the difficulty of moving a peaceful people to war: "Thus should you also think and desire, All you my kinsmen."

5. Thus far have we come,
All you my kinsmen,
And have chosen for our resting place this land
Where sunset falls.
Here the standing dead trees have we broken,
And, having made fire,
We have placed our young men about it,
To tell of past happenings.
Here the dry grass have we pulled,
And, having spread it,
We have seated our youths upon it
To tell them something [ceremonial].

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727 This readmission of the purified warrior into the fellowship of
773 kin lasted until almost dawn. Then the Apache effigy was brought and held up by the guardian or the shaman to catch the rays of the rising sun, in order to catch an enemy soul to animate the effigy. All Apache souls, alive and dead, are in the sun, and all are seeking an abode. The dead souls fly low; the live ones, high. The shaman recognized them as they came and moved the effigy up and down so as to avoid the dead ones and entrap a live one This done, he tied up the basket (9).[18]

[184] A long speech was recorded as being made at this time, the
727 northern Papago attributing it to the guardian; the southern, to
773 the shaman. It has the same effect of patching noted in one of the
● 537 warpath speeches and seems to represent fragments of at least three compositions. The sonorous beginning from the origin myth may once have continued to an account of the first purification. As recited, it launches suddenly into a description of the Apache. Then comes a portion whose repetitions have the style of some standard ritual and which seems to refer to the dreams of a warrior undergoing purification. This also breaks off and gives way to a vivid and colloquial account of tracking the enemy. In typical Papago fashion the actual killing is pushed into one brutal last sentence.

SPEECH OF SHAMAN OVER TROPHY

773 31. Who was it who did thus?
727 He spread the earth and finished it.
x 639 I'itoi, the shaman, did thus:
He spread the earth and finished it.
Upon it stones he set and finished.
Upon it trees he erected and finished.
Upon it mountains he erected and finished.
Springs of water he poured out and finished.

[18] This information came from a war shaman who had himself performed the ritual. He was confused about the detail of catching enemy souls and changed his statements about live and dead souls several times before deciding on the correct version. It seems possible to the writer that the soul catching may be a recent interpretation and that the parallel of this ceremony might be looked for in Mexican rituals where captive enemies were sacrificed to the sun.

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I will journey back, and I will attain my desire. Not hard will it be to turn homeward, not hard to reach my land.(5)

This speech was impromptu. The one quoted was made by an informant who had special ambitions to be a runner.

Anegam and Santa Rosa made ritual speeches, those now preserved at Anegam being the most elaborate. On the second night of the journey (the first having ended a forced march), the Anegam crier called his men together.

3. Already has again leaped down [the sun] the gift of God, and shadow covers us. Already has arrived [Coyote] our shining-eyed comrade, our burning-eyed comrade. Around us four times he went, swiftly circling, then he stood still. His shining and his circling seemed of good omen. Then hurry! Gather quickly! Come together! That we may speed our ceremonies.*(5)

The men seated themselves in a circle with arms folded and heads bowed. Each removed his sandals and tied a buckskin thong around his hair, that it might not blow and cause him to raise his hands, disturbing the meeting. The leader made an introductory speech known as The Heartening.

4. Already has again leaped down [the sun] the shining traveler, and shadow begins to cover us. Already has arrived [Coyote] our shining white comrade, and four times around us he went circling. Already has he strengthened our hearts and perfected them; he has strengthened our hands and perfected them; he has strengthened our legs and perfected them. He has done the same for our beasts. He has strengthened their hearts and perfected them; he has strengthened their hands (forelegs) and perfected them; he has strengthened their legs (hind legs) and perfected them.(5)

Then followed the speech known as The Preparation. This is actually a psychological preparation for receiving visions at the ceremonies. More than that, it is in the nature of a pattern for such visions. A neophyte, even though he completely lacked imagination, could hardly fail, when in a state of exhaustion and with this speech in memory, to imagine the experience expected of him.

* In this speech circumlocutions are used instead of the important words "sun" and "coyote." In old days the sun was called the shining traveler, but Christian expressions have crept in.

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The speech is one of those known as *s'hámpataki nyiô'k* (wise talks), which refer only to salt. The introduction is spoken in the usual oratorical style, with emphasis on the last word of sentence or phrase. This introduction describes at length the approach to the supernatural through tobacco smoke. But when the smoke has done its work and the suppliant finds himself before the supernatural, there begins the "throwing words" in monotonous panting form, which is the characteristic of salt orations.

5. Food she cooked for me;
I did not eat.
Water she poured for me;
I did not drink.
Then, thus to me she said:
"What, then, is it?
You did not eat the food which I have cooked,
The water which I fetched you did not drink."
Then, thus I said:
"It is a thing I feel."

I rose, and across the bare spaces did go walking;
Did peep through the openings in the scrub,
Looking about me, seeking something.
Thus I went on and on.
Where there was a tree that suited me,
Beneath it prone and solitary I lay;
My forehead upon my folded arms, I lay.[6]

There was an ancient woman.
Some lore she had somehow learned,
And quietly she went about telling it.
To me she spoke, telling it.
Then did I raise myself upon my hands:
I put them to my face and wiped away the dust;
I put them to my hair and shook out twigs and rubbish.
I rose. I reached the shade before my house,
And there did try to sit; not like itself it seemed.

[6] The Pima, who do not have a salt pilgrimage, include in their war speeches (Russell, pp. 358, 363) descriptions of a trance state like the above. Another indication that the Papago have, in some ways, made the salt pilgrimage a substitute for war.

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317 484 find. At a little distance grew the last tree they would see, and from it they cut scratching sticks, to be used as soon as they had touched salt.

Then they went as far as possible that night, so that they might get to the ocean and back the next day. It would be a waterless twenty-four hours, and they had drunk all they could at the tank in preparation. At this last camping place they left all extra equipment, and each man deposited one of his canteens. When they returned from their day of salt gathering, they would be sure of a drink.

[178] The peak where Anegam and Santa Rosa performed their ritual was Black Mountain,[8] the Ararat where Elder Brother is said to have landed in his olla after the flood. Here, also, there was water, which the neophytes might not drink until they had raced up the hill. The fleetest of them carried one prayer stick for all. He waved [178] it four times toward the ocean, then four times across his breast from right to left and four times down, while the others "cleansed" themselves with a similar motion. The man with the prayer stick then sat down and pounded it into the earth, with the usual invocation. Santa Rosa and Anegam also left prayer sticks at the tree where they cut scratching sticks.

317 484 537 On this last night, both Santa Rosa and Anegam made speeches which prefigured the purification of the neophyte and his acquisition of power. The Anegam speech describes most vividly the neophyte's entrance into the water and the ceremonial throwing of corn meal, which was the actual procedure. In the visions of Anegam, Coyote was the traditional protector, while with Santa Rosa it is the unnamed "guardian" himself. The "marking" described is the same as that which is used in naming a child and in purifying a girl at puberty. It seems to stand for purification, though it is not now used for the salt pilgrim.

317 484 537 After the crier's call and "The Heartening," the Anegam speaker said:

8. Thus was fulfilled my desire.
Toward the west a black road did lie.

[8] Mexican, Pinacate.

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VILLAGE GROUPINGS

A Papago village official addressed his speeches not to "my fellow townsmen," but to "my kinsmen." For applause, each one called him by the kinship term and it was rarely that anyone had to substitute "my friend." A village was a settlement of kin and others entered it only by invitation or by marriage.

But a village was not a constant unit, for desert conditions, before the digging of government wells, did not permit of year-long residence in any one place. In the summer, when rains filled the shallow reservoirs scooped out with blades of wood and stone, the people could live in the flat country whose name is the same as that for "land" and "ground" and here they could have their fields near the mouths of washes. Such a farming settlement was known not as a village but as Fields, since these were the important thing.

The fields could be occupied only during the summer rainy season and as long afterward as the water lasted in the reservoir: then the people must move to the foothills where there were springs. Each Field had its foothill camp, known as the Well where its residents kept duplicates of the objects they could not transport, such as metates and water jars and where they had at least the posts for a shelter. Sometimes one Well would not accomodate all the Field people and then they had several. Sometimes two related villages used the same Well, but then they kept apart and established no gift intimacies with their new neighbors. When one changed his Field village, for good reason, he was still not expected to change his Well village. Relationships in each were permanent.

The result was that each village had a dual existence, in summer at the Fields, and in winter at the Wells. Many censuses have come to grief over this difficulty. But Field and Well together were part of a larger group. In the course of time, the villages had proliferated, sending out one group after another to look for more land. The new settlement thus made might be only a suburb of the home village, obeying its officials and coming home for ceremonies But sometimes the daughter village was so large or so far away that it needed a leader of its own. Then it appointed one, but considered him always subsidiary to the leader of the parent village. The new hamlet might also, in course of time acquire a fetish and hold a few ceremonies in imitations of those at home. But, on great ceremonial

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VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

The Ancient Form

631 623 The Papago had no central government. Each village unit was autonomous and when two units occasionally joined, for war or games, the union was temporary. There are traditions of meetings, held in time of crisis by the leaders of several different units, generally involving the divisions of Archie and Kuhatk. At such times, the Archie leader was deferred to, since the Archie people were "the oldest settlers" and the "first up from underground". The deference seems to have been a matter of courtesy, not organization and did not apply to Tecalote which had its affiliations in Mexico. We may conjecture from this that there were perhaps loose federations of village units but such formal organization as there was, concerned the village only. The main outlines of this organization follow roughly those of the Pueblos and may be found, in simpler form, among the Shoshoneans, both of California and the Basin.[1]

Ceremonial House

621 344 Every main village, as a mark of its official status, had a ceremonial house, both at the Fields and at the Wells. The one at the Fields was the largest, since it was in summer or just after harvest that most important ceremonies took place. This house was known as the Big House, or the Rain House, since it was here that the rain-making liquor was brewed. At present it is called the Round House, because it is built on the old round plan, while dwelling houses are square.

[773 537 The house was large enough to accomodate all the men in the village: perhaps twenty-five feet in diameter. At the building of a new one, a speech was made by a hereditary orator, telling of the magic building of the first house, with the help of earthworms to furnish the timbers; the gopher to heap earth on the roof; the birds to throw down feathers for a floor covering. Then songs calling for rain were sung.

New villages, leaving the parent village, erected a house in this way, bringing the orator from home for the occasion. In the winter camps, the meeting place was often a brush enclosure, since no

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[1] Strong, 1927.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

778 carried under escort to a special shelter and there guarded for twenty-four hours. It is opened only in the Big House by the older men, who clean it and renew the eagle feathers. If, while it is in the mountains, any disaster overtakes the village, they consider that the basket has been disturbed and hasten to visit it.

Arcana of the other villages are of the same general sort. Reports mention:

> a bag of deerskin, containing carved stone turtle (Hohokam relic?) wrapped in hand woven cotton cloth. a stick two feet long carved and painted with representations of melons, squash, corn and clouds. Four sticks ten inches long, painted blue with white spots and with a tuft of beargrass at the tip to represent corn leaves. Turkey feather prayer sticks. Various other objects such as arrow heads, curiously shaped stones, eagle tail feathers.

Even the daughter villages often acquired a fetish, in time, if they found a relic of the Ancient People under propitious circumstances or "saw a stone which some shaman thought would bring rain." The fetish must then be enclosed in a plaited basket of the proper ceremonial sort and placed in charge of a man who knew the hampatak, or Wise Speeches.

CEREMONIAL ORATIONS

796 The Wise Speeches, treated at length under the subject of
778 ceremonies, were ancient rituals describing interviews with the
537 rain god and the subsequent blessing of rain. The speeches were handed down from one generation to another in the loosely hereditary manner already described, that is, taught to the son or other relative who seemed most promising. They were the safeguard for handling sacred objects and no fetish could be unwrapped or moved without their recitation. A man who knew the speeches told the writer how he visited another village and was interested to see their fetish. He was told that the basket could not be opened without the speech; so he began to recite the one he knew. He was shown the fetish and, in four hours, there was a heavy rain.

CEREMONIAL LEADER

793 The man who knew Wise Speeches was the village ceremonial leader. He was called by a number of names: the Wise Speaker, the One Above, the One Ahead, the One Made Big, the Fire Maker, the Keeper of the Plaited Basket, the Keeper of the Smoke or of the Meeting. The last term will be used here as suggesting more of his official functions. As to the origin of his office, informants say:

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

623 788 to be the sun, although the word tcioc, God, is sometimes used. An upward breathing without words had the same meaning (1). If there was enough tobacco, three puffs might follow the invocation, making up the ceremonial four. The Keeper then passed the cigarette to the man at his right, calling him by the actual kinship term. The man gave the reciprocal term and puffed in the same ceremonial fashion. This passing of the cigarette with the kinship term is a preliminary to all important procedure.

The cigarette passed all the way around the circle, only one man smoking at a time. It was not passed to the young men. When it reached the Keeper again, he put it out by thrusting it, lighted end downward, into the ground beside him, to be lit again at the next interval between speeches. Usually one six-inch tube lasted the whole evening. In later days, when tobacco was more plentiful, any man who could brought his own. They lit cigarettes at a signal from the Keeper, "Now light the jointed reed!" puffed with invocation and passed to a neighbor with the kinship term just as had been done when there was one cigarette for all. Thus several men might be smoking at one time, but they all stopped at the word from the Keeper, "Place the jointed reed in the ground."

183 623 After the smoking the Keeper or sometimes a delegated speaker, addressed the assemblage: "Hail, my relatives!" and made the regular opening speech. Though this was in the speaker's own words, its content was standardized. It was, in fact, the Papago moral code with whose points each wise man was supposed to be familiar. These points were: Be industrious. Be hunger enduring, cold enduring, thirst enduring. Practise running that your young men be swift in time of war and that your women be able to escape. Let every man keep his weapons ready. Have an extra bowstring. Have plenty of arrows. See that your women grind plenty of cornmeal so that you will be strong for fighting. See that your women segregate themselves at the proper time so that you will not lose your strength.

537 623 There was a definite technique for the admonition speech which was different from that for the ritual orations. These latter were delivered in a sonorous voice with the accent on the last word of the sentence. The admonition speech had the normal accent but the voice was expressionless and exceedingly low. The same effect was used in admonitions to young people given at home. The monotonous murmur with its constant repetitions was, to the writer, almost hypnotic.

Fragmentary versions of such speeches follow:

"Well then! Will you not be ready? Will you not take care! Already I have said thus to you: that you shall make arrows,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

that you shall make bows, that you shall be watchful. When the enemy will arrive, you do not know. It may be at night that he will come—at night, or in the morning, or when the sun stands almost anywhere. Beside you do you place your bow that you may snatch it up and fight. Early in the morning do you eat, that you may be able to fight. Always I say this. Every evening I say it to you at the meeting, that you shall keep near you your bow, your hunting arrows, your war arrows, your quiver." "Your women, very early let them cook. Let them feed the youths that they may fight the enemy, wherever the sun stands. Let them fetch water, let them search for firewood, that they may cook something. Early in the morning let them practise running, that when the enemy arrives they may run far down yonder and save themselves."

"This I recite and this I say to you. Do you listen and let it enter your ears and enter your head. (26)

Hunting

"Early in the morning you will rise, you will run far yonder to the foot of the mountain range. You will chase something, you will kill it, you will bring it home and therewith feed yourself. White-tailed deer you will follow, black-tailed deer you will follow and therewith feed yourself and live. This is our food, thus said he, whoever he is, who made us. The deer did he make that you should kill it and eat. Look! thus they shall live, our young men. The deer shall they follow, they shall hunt and shall kill. Thus they will be great runners. Thus they shall do, the people. From long ago has this been done and therewith it has been well. (21)

Planting

"Something again I say to all you villagers, that therewith you may be alert. You will cause the rain to fall and you will plant something." (21)

At the close of the speech, each man in turn, beginning at the right of the speaker, called him loudly by the kinship term, while the speaker responded with the reciprocal. This was the ritual performance of *imik iimi'k himatcu't*, passing the kinship term, which constituted applause on any occasion. One village was said to have had an official, the passer-of-kinship-terms, who always started this applause and saw that it was properly carried around the circle (9). An unrelated man would say "friend", but such a person was rare unless he was a visitor from another village.

If there was tobacco enough, there might be another ritual smoking and perhaps a period of silent thought. Then any proposal

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Fray Manuel was seeing the usual nightly gathering turned to the purposes of Christianity. 623

The repetition which causes the length of these speeches is not for the mere purpose of explanation. The writer once questioned a wise man as to the proceedings of a meeting which had lasted past midnight. He was able to state them very succinctly. "We said that at the festival a horse had disappeared, but it had been found at the house of a man in the next village who didn't know the owner. Then someone said that some spurs had been found, too, but they had been claimed." 623 537 181

"And was that all?"

"Yes. But everyone said what he thought about it."

The purpose of such repetition would seem to be an emotional one: the attaining of complete unity in the group. After an idea has been re-stated so many times and each man has had his share in sponsoring it, every man's conviction has been solidified and there is little danger of an unsympathetic minority. The long sessions before an agreement is reached have the same purpose. There must be no dissenting minority. Action will be ineffective unless the whole group acts with complete conviction. 181 623

This is the ideal of every village group and its method of attaining a strong government without any individual authority. Each man has been conditioned to agreement by the nightly recitations of the moral code which he hears from the age of puberty until death. The result is a "grounding in the faith" which few systems of education could better.

The likeness of the Papago plan of organization to that of the Western Pueblos, is very obvious, though these latter have elaborated a ceremonial organization impossible for the scattered Desert People. We may be seeing here a relic of the Puebloan occupation though we have still no means of telling how far its governmental pattern differed from that of the Papagos' linguistic relatives to the south. Certainly, the title of Bitter or Fierce Man for the war leader has an echo in Mexico.[1] The institution of the secular governor, who supplements the semi-priestly leaders, gives the Papago system an even further resemblance to the present outline of Pueblo organization. 171

POST-SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The Governor

The picture of council and ritualistic leaders without executive power, does not represent modern Papago government. That 622

[1] Cf. Nahuatl "Our wrathy chieftain" Bandelier, AA October, 1892, p. 319.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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power. He spoke to them, telling them how they would dream. I do not know what he said to them. Old men know that—old Killers. Even a Slayer's woman like me is not told. But my father told me the end of every speech he made because it was always the same:

Verily, who desires this thing?
Do not you desire it?
Then learn to endure hardship.

One morning we heard shouting. It was the messengers from the war party, two men who had been sent ahead on the fastest horses. They were far outside the village, standing up in their stirrups and yelling:

One Ear —— has killed!
Ridge Face —— has killed!
The Gambler —— has killed!

The last one was my father. They called the name of his brother too, but it was words you white people do not like to say, about peoples' bodies.

We heard them far off, over and over again in a loud sing-song, and everyone came outside to listen to know if we now belonged to the families of Enemy Slayers.

My mother had a basket of corn kernels in her hand; she was going to grind flour. But when she heard the shout she set it down and just stood there. Then Leaf Buds came running to our house. She just motioned to my mother to come with her. My mother did not speak to us, and she did not take anything with her; just her cotton blanket to put over her head, because the wife of a man who is being purified must not see the sun. The husband of Leaf Buds was building a shelter for my mother, out away from the houses. He had to run to do it as soon as he heard the shouts. Until it was done, my mother went to Leaf Buds' house and sat there with her blanket over her head, not speaking. They did not make us children do anything, because children cannot stand the suffering of being purified. But my grandmother called us into the house and told us to stay quietly there. She gave us sticks to scratch our heads with so we would not use our hands and make our hair fall out. She told us not to speak much and never to go near the fire.

So we could not go out to see the men come in. The young girls whose men were not Enemy Slayers ran out to meet the fighters, far into the mountains. Ah, that is a good dance. I did it myself, at other times when there was no Power in the family. The girls stand across the warriors' path and take their weapons from them. They take arrows and quivers and bows,

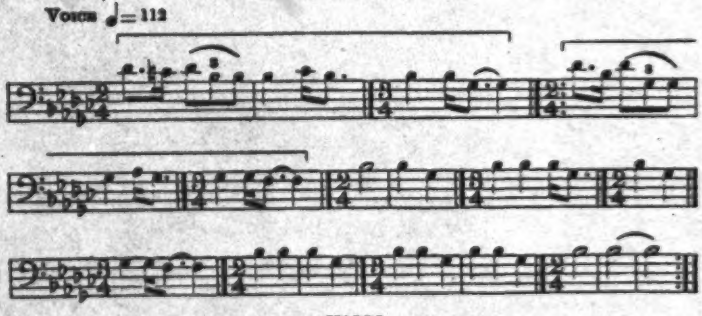
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

and clouds would gather with the noise of an approaching storm. This caused them to stay at home and the Papago made their attack before morning. The Chippewa and Sioux medicine man who accompanied a war party also sang songs to bring a storm so that the enemy would remain in their tents and the war party make an effective attack.

The following song of the Papago medicine men could be sung at the close of the *Limo*, as well as on the warpath.

No. 133. Song to Bring the Clouds (Catalogue No. 926)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA



WORDS

Cŭwakĭki	wŭmĭă	hĭmtha	wŭmaci	gamŭko
Clouds	together	going	with him	far away
hĭmtha	nyĕmaltha	sazakali	nanakĭ	
going	my enemies	staggering	as if crazy	

TRANSLATION

Heavy clouds going with him.
Clouds going far away.
Our enemies stagger as though drunk.

Analysis.—Two distinct rhythms occur in this song, one represented by the rhythmic unit and the other consisting chiefly of quarter notes. A curious interruption of rhythm occurs midway through the song. The second and third measures are duplicated in the tenth and twelfth (with a slight change in accent), while the ninth measure, with its double time, is inserted between them. The minor thirds at the close of the song are somewhat similar to those in No. 130. The song has a compass of six tones and is harmonic in structure.

When the medicine men said they had succeeded in locating the enemy it was customary for speeches to be made by the warriors. Any man who knew these speeches could rise and deliver them. After such a speech the men made a false charge, rushing forward against an imaginary enemy.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Mattias Encinas, father of the writer's interpreter, recited the two following speeches: 537●

SPEECH No. 1

"Now, my relatives, you did not know that I knew this speech. It will surprise you that I stand here about to make this speech. The night has fallen. From above the top of my head comes down a great feathered bird (eagle) with noise like thunder and sits beside me. It has round leathers such as we put under the arms of our warriors. From above the top of my head a stiff-feathered bird comes down with thunder and sits at one side, with the stick that we cut for a club and put on the hip of our warriors. It was the black crow that came down from above with a great noise and sat, and by the favor of the black crow we have the bows and arrows that we hand our warriors. Oh, yes, it was Coyote that howled from his inside to give warning. It was by the favor of Coyote that we have bamboo arrows to hand to our warriors. Now, by the strength of all these I see the enemy's bows have strings of wind. We snatch them away. Now, by the strength of all these I see the sleep of our enemies like a dark cloud that we may be able to snatch them. Now, by the strength of all these I see the sandals of our enemies with the toes turned up like the end of an ear of corn, that we may be able to snatch them. Now, by the strength of all these I see the nice red painted arrows of our enemies as we grasp them. Now, as many rocks as there are and as many hills as there are and as many trees as there are, in spite of these we rush forward that we may be able to snatch the enemy. We pick them up like a ball and put it in the open palm of the medicine man and he groans and faces toward our distant home, but we will reach there soon ourselves with the scalps. There stands our ground, shaking with joy; there stands our mountain, thundering with joy; there stand our trees, shaking with joy. There any very old man wakes and walks and hears and sees as he has not done for years in joy for our victory."

After this speech the speaker sat down and anyone who knew the next speech had a chance to come forward and speak. Meantime the men, beginning at the right of the first speaker, addressed him by a term of relationship and said, "That is good," or commended him in some similar manner.

SPEECH No. 2

(The opening, as far as the mention of the eagle, is the same as in speech No. 1)

"It was the great white eagle, very anxious, with round leathers that he placed under his arm and the stick that we use for a club. He does not sleep but watches for the dawn. He is eager for action. He keeps acting as he will later act toward his enemies, shooting and threatening them."

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 masks crowned with feathers on their heads and carrying in their hands wands decorated with bunches of eagle-feathers on each end and in the middle, danced all night opposite each other, singing at the same time in a falsetto voice. After dancing for five or ten minutes the men discarded their masks and wands, and rested for a like period.

● [537] About midnight, the old man who had entire charge delivered a speech in which he said that "Montezuma" had given this ceremony to the people and desired it to be continued, at the same time urging the young men to learn it, as but few of the old men remained who understood the legend and the ceremony.

796 292 Before sunrise on the morning of the fifth, the people dressed in holiday clothes and went out to the fiesta grounds to witness the opening of the principal day. In the booths preparations were being made behind improvised curtains, and as the sun rose, the principal figures, robed in red blankets with girdles of shells and bells, and wearing masks crowned with eagle-feathers, went forward to the singers' booth, about 300